

Maricopa

Halchidhoma

Kohuana

Halyikwamai

SOCIAL RELATIONS

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tioning had to be directed to chieftainship with but unsatisfac-⁶⁴³
 tory results. It would seem that others were at least equally⁷⁸⁷
 prominent socially: shamans, song and dance leaders, the direc-¹²⁴
 tors of funerals and mourning ceremonies, custodians of scalps,⁵⁵⁴
 war leaders, orators, etc. All or most of them had the prestige⁶⁴³
 that derived from dreaming the powers that entitled them to⁷⁸⁷
 their positions. In a society that put a premium on dream-sanctions, it is intelligible why the chief, whose functions were of little moment, should receive slight attention.

There seems to have been but one chief at a time in each of the¹⁷⁵
 tribes. The difficulty is that our information relates to the period⁶⁴³
 of joint community of Maricopa, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and⁵⁶³
 Halyikwamai. The groups were then impoverished in numbers
 and lived in mixed and scattered settlements interdigitated with
 Pima. There is also a question how far the chief's prestige or the
 office itself was due to recognition by Mexican authorities. ⁽⁶⁴⁸⁾

At the Sacate settlement when Kutox was a boy, about 1855, the Pima, Halchidhoma, and Kohuana had each their own chief. Sumll,a'm, "down-feathers travelling," was the Kohuana chief. He was entering old age at the time, and while he might have been chief when they came from the Colorado (1838-39), Kutox was uncertain.¹ At about the same time Malai', a man of like age, was chief of the Halchidhoma, then a group of perhaps twenty families. He may have been appointed by the Mexicans when they were in Mexico twenty years before. Kutox did not know whether, in an earlier period, there had been more than one Maricopa or Halchidhoma chief at a time. It seems unlikely: since he could remember the ancestry of chiefs of his day, he should have known of plural chiefs in earlier times. Last Star declared emphatically that the Maricopa had but one chief at a time.

The Maricopa tribal chief was in reality the chief of the⁶⁴⁸
 strongest village. Other villages lacked chiefs: "they came to
 that place when they wanted to find out anything." Practically
 he was chosen by the people of his village: they simply came to
 him for advice and to have him address them, until he came to be
 recognized as chief. In native theory, however, he dreamed his⁽⁷⁸⁷⁾
 position. Last Star was not certain what spirit was the subject

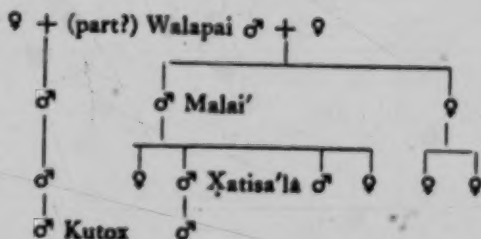
¹ Papago-foot, mentioned by Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 801) on Mohave authority as Kohuana chief about 1883, was, according to Kutox, not a chief but a respected old man. Last Star thought he may have been given a trial as chief, but could not have held the position for any great time. ⁽¹¹⁴⁾

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The first Maricopa chief mentioned was a great warrior against the Yavapai. When the Mohave came to Sacate he fled his house with his wife. Immediately he remembered he had left his feather bonnet inside. He said, "Even if I am killed, I must have it to wear." He went back, while his wife waited. By the time he rejoined her, the Mohave overtook them and killed both. 173
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There is a suggestion in the single chiefly lineage known to the Halchidhoma informant Kutox that a man might rise to that dignity by his own efforts. Malai' was remembered as the Halchidhoma chief, who died at the age of seventy when Kutox was young (about 1855-60). His place was taken by his eldest son, Xatisa'la, "doghand," who died recently. Who was chief before Malai' was not known, but it was certainly not his Walapai or part Walapai father. This is corroborated by the fact that Kutox's paternal grandfather, Malai's older half-brother, was not a chief. The son of Xatisa'la was never chief and was said never to have had pretensions. He was known as the dreamer of the Deer song. It is quite likely that his opportunity for succession came after the break-down of tribal society. [555]



A Maricopa or Halchidhoma chief was called hutcaci'plc, "ad-643
viser," or pipavatai', "big man," "because we think he is above
everybody in the village. Everybody listens and obeys him."
There were other designations for chiefs: gamu'lvinc, "one who
has the name [of honor]"; gwln,ai'vlc, "one who tells things";
hamu'llg, "well-known"; kina'pk, "praised"; but the last two [554]
terms at least were also applied to others, for instance, to those
who had killed enemies.

1883 as Ahwanchevari (wantcavari' according to the Maricopa; named as Juan Chevereah in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1858*, p. 207). He also had power to cure (p. 287).

Maricopa
Mohave

Yuma

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192 Xanavaé was given as "king," meaning "anyone who was head over people."
 554 This was not the name for the tribal chief, but for the leaders of Mexicans or
 643 Americans. It is Spanish *general*, here pronounced *heneral*. (Dr. Beals suggests
 171 that the terminal syllable may be from Spanish *rry*.) The Havasupai epithet for
 the head chief, *hanata'va*, "superlatively good," was not recognized by informants.⁴ Havasupai *kahá't*, "chief," Mohave *kohota*, "dance director," and Yuma *kwoxot*, "chief," "dance leader," was here *kwaxu't* or *kwaxo'tinc*, "good man" (that is, good natured, kindly), not the name of an official. A dance leader was here called *n,ima'caisk*.

643 The functions of a chief seem to have been slight: his authority more admonitory than coercive. He rose early in the morning and called the villagers. Talking to the men first, he admonished them to go out to hunt, to feed their wives and children. He told the women to hasten to prepare meal so the men could start. (A [558] woman who failed to have breakfast ready by sunrise was scorned.) He looked after the meeting house and called men to the meetings.

There appear to have been no speakers (repeaters) for the chiefs or others.

645 Councillors were mentioned as chosen by the chief, two or three men. Whether they had special functions or authority is unknown to me. They were called *matás'nyūk*, "those who agree"; more recently *matáwi'kík*, "helpers."

646 There were evening meetings which any man might attend as he chose, even young boys, but not women. They took place in a [562] special large house erected in the middle of the sprawling settlement. These were by no means legislative assemblies: decisions [345] were not binding. The opportunity was rather one for the expression of opinion at a convivial gathering. Nevertheless, the proceedings were quite stereotyped.

643 It was customary for the chief to get the meeting house ready.
 646 In mid-afternoon he started a big fire, which was kept up so that [372] by evening it was intensely hot inside. He would clear it of dé-

[114] ⁴ Kroeber's derivation of the Mohave word for chief, *hanidhala*, from Spanish *general* (Yuma, *hon-ah-thal*) may be correct but looks to me like folk-etymology on the part of the Mohave (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 745; Trippel, p. 568). The [171] Cocopa, like the Maricopa and Havasupai, called the headman "good man" (information from Dr. R. H. Lowie).

⁵ Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 137.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

THE DREAM EXPERIENCE AND SPIRITS

171 At the heart of Maricopa culture was the dream experi-
787 ence. It was the one thing of which they constantly talked, the
significant aspect of their life as they saw it. It is this more than
any other single element that establishes the unity of their cul-
ture with that of the lower Colorado Yumans, and this holds
equally for the other, originally Colorado peoples among them,
Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai, so far as one can
now judge. At the same time, the Maricopa emphasis on ex-
periences with particular spirits seems more like the generalized
North American relation with guardian spirits than does the
Mohave, with its myth framework in the phrasing of the dream.

787 Dream experience was at the bottom of all success in life, and
● 554 as such their constant preoccupation. Learning was displaced by
828 dreaming, and while it was recognized that an individual ac-
quired skill by practice or imitated songs on hearing others, his
activity or knowledge would be neither wholly successful nor
significant unless he had dreamed. A single statement of Last
Star's epitomizes their attitude: "Everyone who is prosperous
or successful must have dreamed of something. It is not because
he is a good worker that he is prosperous, but because he
dreamed." All songs and song performances were revealed in
dreams and their content was the dream experience; on the ex-
perience was based the conceiving of children, oratorical power,
curing, bewitching, and shamanistic feats; clairvoyance and
prowess in war, and the ability to lead in war or to serve as chief.
In short, all special abilities were to be had by dreaming, and by
dreaming alone.

774 Supernatural power came only in dreams and almost always
787 involuntarily. Dream and spirit were called by a single word,
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cure it. One who dreamed of Buzzard became a great shaman,⁷⁵⁶ with ability to cure the well-nigh lethal wounds caused by Ya-⁷⁷⁶ vapai poisoned arrows (mataðau', "poisoned," "bewitched").⁷⁸⁷ Duck and Gnat (? unyĩpawa'pawa') were mentioned as additional spirit councillors of a shaman who cured such wounds. Further, Buzzard and Coyote conferred clairvoyant power to discover the enemy's position in the mountains and to detect thieves. The power of Jackrabbit and Cottontail was the cure of sickness caused by eating their flesh (jackrabbit at least was forbidden to young people) or of blindness caused by getting their hair in the eyes. They also cured earache. Orange Shouldered Blackbird cured sickness derived from deer,⁹ but gave primarily his song, since "the blackbird is a great singer." Similarly, the Deer dreamer was a singer but could cure. Crickets gave the power to cure bewitchment caused by one who dreamed of the constellation Orion's Belt. Shamans who dreamed of crickets used rattles, the sound resembling that of the insect (but see below).^[753]

Other spirits bestowed non-curative powers: clairvoyance, bewitching, legerdemain, rain-making, singing, etc. A man who dreamed of Crow became a great thief, of Eagle a great singer.⁵⁵⁴ Similarly, the Mountain Killdeer dreamer became a great singer "because the killdeer is a great singer. But Mountain Killdeer is a bad bird. When one who dreamed of him sat down to sing, the whole village was stirred up. Young girls and even married women rushed to this singing, ran off with the singer."^[832] Mocking Bird made a man an orator, hence chiefs and battle challengers dreamed of him. A spirit called cĩ,aitcuwa'n gave clairvoyant power to see who would win a race. Frog gave power to bewitch and to handle live coals: singing the Frog song brought rain.⁵⁵⁴ One "who had dreamed of rain" could cause it to fall, which may mean that rain was a spirit. The morning star was conceived as a spirit: it is the transformed old woman of the Flute Lure tale (p. 396). "A man, when he first dreams to become a great warrior, first describes the morning star. This star has especially to do⁷⁷⁶⁷⁸⁷⁸²¹

⁹ The meaning of this is obscure, but recalls the Pima belief that animals cause all or nearly all sickness.^[71]

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554 with war." He acquires bravery and ability to kill. Again, cer-
776 tain small flies (kumanyihwi') and a thorny cactus (*xu'l) figured
787 as spirits in the preparation of a warrior. "Those who dream of
[821] Orion's Belt got power to bewitch at a distance. This was cured
by one who dreamed of crickets." It is not clear that this con-
stellation was a spirit. The three stars of the Belt were believed
a mountain sheep, a deer, and an antelope, any one of which
might have been the spirit involved.

776 The reason for some of these associations of spirits and powers
787 is patent as founded on natural characteristics of the birds.
811 Thus, the mocking bird as speaker, the crow as thief, blackbird
825 and killdeer as singers. Similarly, the association of the frog with
rain is obvious and so possibly clairvoyance (locating the enemy
from the sky) with the buzzard's soaring habit.

Other associations depend for comprehension on certain be-
[753] liefs. Rabbit flesh was believed to cause sickness and its hairs
blindness: these were cured by the spirit rabbits on the homeo-
pathic principle. On a similar principle the curing of soul loss by
Horned Owl, that is, where the cause was dreaming of dead rel-
[775] atives, seems connected with the belief that a human heart, on
cremation, becomes a horned owl and that this owl seen flitting
near a dwelling presages death. Certain other associations are
founded on beliefs incorporated in the Creation tale (*q.v.*): Coy-
[773] ote, having suffered every kind of sickness, can cure all, and
Frog, the first witch of all time, having slain her father, the cul-
ture hero, by witchcraft, now gives the power to bewitch.

776 The mountains as spirits differed from those of birds and ani-
787 mals in that they had no powers to grant. But that they figured
823 as spirits is certified by the way they appear in the clairvoyant
act by which the whereabouts of the enemy was discovered.
Then the mountain spirits were thought to enter the séance and
respond to questions concerning the enemy (see below). The
same spiritual quality is implied by the slayer of an enemy turn-
ing away from the mountains of the enemy country to avoid
their maleficence. Four nearby mountains were thought espe-
cially significant for the Maricopa: Pima Butte, Sierra Estrella,
Salt River Range, and a butte immediately southwest of the